

Message Text

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12

ORIGIN MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02

INR-09 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14

USIA-12 NEA-10 ACDA-19 GAC-01 TRSE-00 OIC-04 AEC-11

OMB-01 /151 R

66664

DRAFTED BY: D/ MBFR: F. SPOTTS

APPROVED BY: D: MR. RUSH

D/ MBFR: R. L. GARTHOFF

EUR/ WE: C. K. JOHNSON

PM/ DCA- MR. BAKER

S/ S- MR. ELIOT

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R 230205 Z MAR 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ROME

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

ALL NATO CAPITALS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 053671

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR ADDITIONAL ADDRESSEE

E. O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: CALL BY ITALIAN AMBASSADOR MARCH 21

GENEVA FOR USDEL SALT II

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL

HELSINKI FOR MPT DEL

1. IN CALL ON DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH MARCH 21, AMBASSADOR ORTONA STATED THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO BRING CURRENT ITALIAN VIEWS ON MBFR TO THE ATTENTION OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. PRESENTING THE DEPUTY SECRETARY WITH AN OUT-LINE OF THESE VIEWS, ORTONA SAID THAT THE MAIN FEATURE HE
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WISHED TO STRESS WAS THE ITALIAN POSITION THAT MBFR SHOULD BE LIMITED AT LEAST INITIALLY TO STATIONED RATHER THAN INDIGENOUS FORCES. HE ADDED THAT HE COULD NOT EXPLAIN THE TIMING OF THE DEMARCHE, EXCEPT AS A REFLECTION OF THE ITALIAN DESIRE TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON FUNDAMENTAL MBFR ISSUES.

2. IN RESPONSE TO ORTONA'S REMARKS, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY STATED THAT HE FOUND HIMSELF IN FULL ACCORD WITH THE ITALIAN POSITION. SINCE THE TIME HE WAS AMBASSADOR IN BONN HE HAD CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED AN APPROACH FOCUSING MBFR ON STATIONED FORCES. OUR FORCES WOULD BE REMOVED FROM THE MBFR AREA BUT NOT DISBANDED. A REDUCTION OF INDIGENOUS FORCES, ON THE OTHER HAND, WOULD CONSTITUTE DISARMAMENT WHICH IS NOT AN OBJECTIVE OF MBFR. OUR AIM IS THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BEAR LESS AND THE EUROPEAN ALLIES MORE OF THE ALLIANCE DEFENSE BURDEN. ALTHOUGH AMBASSADOR ORTONA HAD NOT ALLUDED TO IT, AN ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATION IN MBFR IS THAT IT IS IN THE WESTERN INTEREST TO REDUCE SOVIET FORCES IN EASTERN EUROPE, WHERE THEY HAVE AN INTERNAL SECURITY FUNCTION, BUT NOT INDIGENOUS WARSAW PACT FORCES. AN OUTCOME OF THIS SORT COULD CONTRIBUTE TO GREATER INDEPENDENCE FOR EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES.

3. TURNING TO THE CURRENT VIENNA TALKS, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY COMMENTED THAT HUNGARY'S PARTICIPATION HAD BEEN GREATLY OVERVALUED BY SOME OF THE ALLIES. THE U. S. HAD ANTICIPATED A SOVIET REACTION OF THE SORT THAT HAD ACTUALLY OCCURRED; THE UNITED STATES, AND WE BELIEVE OUR ALLIES DO NOT WANT A CRISIS TO DEVELOP OVER THIS ISSUE. UNFORTUNATELY, THE PROBLEM HAD CAUSED SOME DISARRAY IN THE ALLIANCE, RAISING THE QUESTION AT ONE POINT WHETHER BENELUX WOULD REMAIN IN THE TALKS AND LEADING TO THE SUBSEQUENT BRITISH PROPOSAL FOR UNSTRUCTURED MEETINGS OF ALL 19 PARTICIPANTS. THE PROBLEM HAD ALSO OCCASIONED SUSPICION THAT THE U. S., IN THE COURSE OF BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS ON VARIOUS BILATERAL TOPICS, HAD REACHED AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THEM ON MBFR AS WELL. SUCH WAS NOT THE CASE. IN FACT, MANY OF OUR NATO ALLIES HAVE FOR MANY YEARS HAD MORE BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS THAN HAS THE U. S. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY STRESSED, UNLESS ALLIES HAVE CONFIDENCE IN ONE ANOTHER, CONFIDENTIAL

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THERE CAN BE NO REAL ALLIANCE.

4. AMBASSADOR ORTONA RESPONDED THAT SUCH SUSPICIONS OF BILATERALISM HAD INDEED EXISTED AND HE WAS GRATIFIED BY THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S ASSURANCES. HE COMMENTED THAT THERE IS ALWAYS A QUESTION IN THE BACK OF EUROPEAN MINDS ABOUT WHETHER THE U. S. IS DEALING BILATERALLY. SUCH APPREHENSIONS ARE NOT SURPRISING, HE REMARKED, SINCE THE EUROPEANS ARE MUCH THE WEAKER PARTNER AND NEED TO BE CONTINUALLY REASSURED.

5. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OBSERVED THAT THE LATEST PROBE OF THE SOVIETS IN VIENNA HAD BEEN INCONCLUSIVE. HE EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD ACCEPT THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, AND SAID IT WILL EVENTUALLY BE NECESSARY TO FACE THE QUESTION WHETHER HUNGARY AND ITALY ARE BOTH PARTICIPANTS OR WHETHER HUNGARY SHOULD BE GRANTED SPECIAL STATUS. THE U. S. IS WILLING TO ACCEPT

THE LATTER WITH PERHAPS AN AGREEMENT ON SOME NON-CIRCUMVENTION FORMULA. ORTONA RESPONDED THAT THE ITALIANS ARE APPREHENSIVE OF A NON- CIRCUMVENTION AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD INCLUDE ITALY SINCE THE PO VALLEY IS THE LOCUS OF ITALIAN MILITARY FORCES. CONSTRAINTS EFFECTING THIS AREA WOULD CAUSE THE ITALIAN MILITARY MUCH CONCERN. WHEN THE DEPUTY SECRETARY POINTED OUT THAT THE CONTEMPLATED NON- CIRCUMVENTION ARRANGEMENT WOULD INVOLVE ONLY STATIONED FORCES, ORTONA EXPRESSED SATISFACTION.

6. A PAPER OUTLINING ITALIAN VIEWS WAS PRESENTED TO THE DEPUTY SECRETARY BY ORTONA, WHO STATED THAT THE POSITION MIGHT BE CIRCULATED IN SOME FORM IN THE NAC. IT CONTAINS THE FOLLOWING POINTS. THERE SHOULD BE NO EXPANSION OF THE REDUCTION AREA (NGA); REDUCTIONS SHOULD INVOLVE ONLY GROUND FORCES AND SPECIFICALLY AVOID FBS; MBFR SHOULD INVOLVE A REDEPLOYMENT OF FORCES RATHER THAN PARTIAL DISARMAMENT; STATIONED FORCES ALONE SHOULD, AT LEAST INITIALLY, BE REDUCED; AND THE CONSTRAINTS AREA

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SHOULD BE CONFINED TO THE REDUCTION AREA. THE POSITION FURTHER STATES THAT AN MBFR LIMITED TO STATIONED FORCE CUTS WOULD BE EASIER TO NEGOTIATE, WOULD NOT RISK SUBJECTING EUROPEAN STATES TO SOVIET " SUPERVISORY CONTROL," WOULD BE BALANCED BY PARALLEL REDUCTION OF

SOVIET FORCES, AND WOULD MEET THE U. S. DESIRE TO REDUCE
ITS EUROPEAN FORCES. INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS, BY
CONTRAST, WOULD AMOUNT TO A PARTIAL DISARMAMENT MEASURE
ENDANGERING EUROPEAN SECURITY, WOULD NOT BE PARALLELED
BY SOVIET CUTS, AND MIGHT BE USED BY THE SOVIETS TO PREVENT
EUROPEAN MILITARY INTEGRATION. ROGERS

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 MAR 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE053671
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: D/ MBFR: F. SPOTTS
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: SECSTATE WASHDC
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730338/aaaaihpa.tel
Line Count: 179
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN MBFR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <02-Aug-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <14-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> srp 971229
Subject: MBFR: CALL BY ITALIAN AMBASSADOR MARCH 21
TAGS: PARM
To: ROME INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
GENEVA
HELSINKI
VIENNA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005